from 1993 to 2002 and again from 2009 to 2011, the hotel chain routinely sold pay-per-view pornography to its guests.

THE PRACTICAL reality is that essentially unrestrained adult obscenity is here to stay. Today, with the mere click of a button, search engines will instantaneously find virtually limitless websites that offer access, usually free of charge, to graphically explicit videos of masturbation, anal sex, lesbian sex, oral sex, bondage, sadomasochism, and literally anything else the mind can imagine. Whether this is good, bad, or indifferent is at this point largely irrelevant. The law has simply been overwhelmed by technology and by changing social mores.

State and local obscenity prosecutions have also been few and far between in recent years and, when they occur, they too focus almost exclusively on the most extreme forms of sexual expression. Unlike federal prosecutions, state and local prosecutions are directed primarily at local store owners, rather than Internet distributors. Most of these prosecutions have been pursued in only a handful of states, including Alabama, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Texas. In most of these cases, the primary concern of prosecutors is either the sale of child pornography or the sale of sexual material to minors.[39]

The challenge for the future is no longer how to *ban* such adult obscenity, but how to deal with its existence. Approximately 36 percent of all Internet users visit at least one adult website every month. Of those who visit such websites, the average user does so 7.7 times per month, or almost 100 times each year. The average length of each visit is 11.6 minutes. More than a third of all persons who visit adult websites are women.

Perhaps surprisingly, residents of states whose citizens have the most conservative positions on religion are the most likely to visit adults-only websites. Indeed, the state whose residents spend the most time on pornographic websites is Utah. Moreover, according to Baylor University, 40 percent of all evangelical Protestant clergymen admit to struggling with pornography and 53 percent of the men who belong to Promise Keepers, a "Christ-centered organization dedicated to motivating men to influence their world through a with Jesus Christ," visit "pornography sites every week.'>4° As the puppets in the Broadway musical *Avenue j*oyously sang:

> The Internet is really really great ... FOR PORN!
> I've got a fast connection so I don't have to wait ... FOR PORN!
> But, there's always some new site ... FOR PORN!

I browse all day and night ... FOR PORN!

It's like I'm surfing at the speed of light ... FOR PORN! ... The Internet is for porn ...

Why you think the net was born?

Porn! Porn! PORN! 41

PORN AND THE BIRTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

ALTHOUGH THE "WAR" to prevent consenting adults from accessing sexually-explicit books, magazines, movies, and websites was effectively "lost" by the turn of the twenty-first century, the struggle had profoundly important consequence for the nation. The failed campaign to suppress sexual expression laid the foundation for a critical shift in American politics, a shift that has framed our political discourse to this day. The "Culture Wars," which bore a striking semblance to the second Great Awakening, began with porn.

The New York City for the suppression of Vice, which was founded by Anthony Comstock in 1873 to preserve public decency, was dissolved in l951 because by midcentury the suppression of pornography was no longer considered a pressing public problem. But with the rise of new and ever more extreme forms of sexual expression in the 1960s, new organizations entered the fray. Citizen for Decent Literature (CDL), for example, which was founded by Charles H. Keating, former navy pilot with "a deeply held loathing for smut," rose to prominence in the 1960s and reshaped the discourse of anti-porn activism. Building on the work of organizations like CDL, the restoration of "morality" increasingly became a central theme in the rhetoric of the New Right.[42]

After the President's Commission on obscenity and Pornography issued its report in 1970 calling for an end to legal sanctions against the distribution of sexually explicit materials to consenting adults, the New Right had a field day. Not only did Vice President Spiro Agnew lash out against "these radical-liberals" who were indifferent to a "Child's constant exposure to a flood of hard-core pornography," but Senator Robert Dol (R-Kansas) called for an investigation of the members of the commission, and President Richard Nixon "categorically rejected" the report's "morally bankrupt conclusions." [43]

As the nation entered the l970s, the leaders of the New Right put pornography, and a more general call for a return to "traditional" moral values, at the forefront of their political agenda. Despite all the bombast about pornography however for the most part, politics rather than policy was the goal. As Nixon advisor John Dean observed at the time, the 1970 Com-mission Report provided "an excellent opportunity" for the president "to

be very vocally placed on the right side of this issue." In short, the pornography issue gave conservative politicians an opportunity to cultivate and exploit moral "outrage." 44

IN THE late 1970s, as a new era of evangelical fervor burst onto the scene: America entered what might be termed the Third Great Awakenmg.

The pivotal event was Anita Bryant's campaign to repeal the gay rights ordinance in Miami in the late 1970s.*Among the religious leaders who flocked to Florida to support Bryant's campaign was the Reverend Jerry Falwell, who founded the Moral Majority in 1979. A strident segregationist in the early 1960s, Falwell rose to national prominence in the 1970s as a tel-evangelist on his *Old Time Gospel Hour.* The Moral Majority, with its explicit links to the Born Again Movement, soon established chapters in every state in the nation, published a newsletter with three million readers, and broad cast a daily radio program on more than three hundred stations. In his 1980 book *Listen, America!,* Falwell condemned the spread of pornography for generating a national "atmosphere of sexual license." 45

In the 1980 presidential election, Ronald Reagan aggressively cultivated and ultimately obtained the active support of the Christian Right. Once in office, however, Reagan generally paid only lip service to the evangelical cause. But Reagan knew how to protect his base, so he spoke frequently on issues of morality. In a 1983 address to the National Association of Evangelicals, for example, he invoked the dangers of pornography, noting that America was "in the midst of a spiritual awakening and a moral renewal." Ultimately, however, Reagan recognized that words alone would not be enough to satisfy the evangelicals, so in 1985 he appointed the Meese Commission, the clear purpose of which was to endorse conservative Chris-tian perspectives on issues of sex and pornography. As intended, the Meese Commission Report was lauded by the Christian Right.46

Although the evangelical community's campaign to suppress sexual expression collapsed by the turn of the twenty-first century, their losing war on pornography nonetheless helped energize a powerful religious, moral, and political movement that continues to this day to play a central role I11 our debates about reproductive rights, women's rights, and gay rights. That was, indeed, the most lasting legacy of the evangelicals' failed crusade to stamp out obscenity in America.

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* See chapter I I.